/422 cont./ Table XII (cont.)

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No.	Income	In Proportion to Income				
		Fuel	Illumination	Maintenance	Water	Kola
32	25,000	1.2	0.8	1.0	--	1.3
33	25,000	3.2	0.8	1.0	--	--
34	25,900	1.5	0.4	1.1	--	0.2
35	27,000	2.8	0.2	1.5	--	--
36	34,000	2.0	0.9	1.6	--	--
37	36,000	3.5	0.7	1.1	--	0.1
38	50,000	0.8	0.5	1.4	--	--
39	51,000	1.3	2.5	0.5	1.1	--
40	55,000	3.6	1.2	1.5	--	0.1
41	55,500	2.5	0.5	1.0	--	1.3
42	56,000	1.6	0.5	1.1	--	--
43	81,000	0.4	--	0.6	--	--

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*511 Let us begin with the most obligatory of all, those from which it is most difficult to escape: taxes and the rent of the dwelling (Table XIII).[1]

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[602] Two of our families do not pay taxes. Nearly all of the others devote at least 1% of their income to them. The tax paid would normally be proportional to the number of adults that the restricted family contains. It is quite often lower; one may succeed in escaping the fiscal census. It is sometimes higher: specifically, in three cases where the salaried worker in the city pays the taxes for his relatives who remained in the village.

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[342 Only 13 families pay rent for the dwelling. Two are given free lodgings by the owner; three are lodged by their employer. The others are "owners." This ownership is often limited to a straw hut, or better a plank hut, constructed on an administrative concession. The most favored build a true house of mud; up to now only one of our family heads has undertaken a "permanent" building.

[1] [see cat 116, pp 62-63. ANALYST]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
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that belongs to us, our occupation should be limited to those parts necessary for assuring the suppression of brigandage, the freedom of trade and the tranquillity of an industrious population.

The land cultivated by them will provide produce which will become the object of lucrative trade for the European, the only kind of work he can undertake in this climate.

By 1865 the colony of Senegal comprised 150,000 inhabitants of whom only some 15,000, living in the original French settlements of St. Louis and Gorée-Dakar, were French citizens. Indeed this number was not to increase noticeably until the end of the century, since the privileges granted to those Africans under French rule in 1848 were never extended to the interior. For whilst Faidherbe pursued a policy of assimilation in the main centres like St. Louis, Gorée and Dakar, he initiated the basis of a system of administration for what was to become the rest of modern Senegal and French black Africa as a whole that was distinctly non-assimilationist. The laws for the *sujets* or those who did not enjoy the rights of French citizens were particularly harsh. They were not allowed to leave the colony, they had no right of meeting or association, and they were subjected to the corvée or forced labour on the maintenance of roads. To obtain this forced labour Faidherbe relied on the chiefs, and indeed one of the main criticisms of him as an exponent of assimilationism is that he leaned so heavily on both the chiefs and Islam. The treaty made by Jauréguiberry (acting-Governor whilst Faidherbe was on leave in 1865) with Abdoul Boubaker of Toro was far removed from the principles of assimilation: 'Art. 2—The Toro will continue to administer itself according to its own laws, traditions and customs.'

The overthrow of the Second Empire and the establishment of the Third Republic in 1870 was to see lukewarm reaffirmation of principles of the revolution and a consequent return to assimilationist principles at least in the political field. In 1871 Senegal regained her deputy. More

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
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641 they were made agents of the Administration and responsi-
[631] ble for the enforcement of the corvée when required. The harshness of this authoritarian rule, escaped only by the *evolués* in the other territories, has been vividly described by Geoffrey Gorer in *Africa Dances*, which records a long tour made through French West Africa in the mid-thirties. Even so in 1930 France had signed the Geneva Act for-
[466] bidding forced labour in the colonies; but it was slow to disappear. In 1937 the right to form trade unions, which
[467] hitherto was only granted to Senegalese citizens by a law of 1920, was extended in a restricted form to the *sujets*. That same year a new decree allowed easier conditions for the acquisition of French citizenship by the *sujets*. Out of a population of 1,800,000 in 1936 there were 78,000 citizens compared with some 2,400 in the rest of French West Africa. And in 1939 the *sujets* were granted the right of
[666] electing some of their representatives to the Colonial Council instead of being represented only by nominees of the Administration.

641 This newly acquired right was enjoyed for a very brief
648 period. For in 1940 the authoritarian element in France came to the fore in particularly unhappy circumstances with the fall of France and the establishment of the Vichy Government. Under the Vichy regime, racism manifested itself openly for the first time. This was particularly embittering for the Senegalese élite since they had been much in sympathy with the Popular Front Government which attempted liberal experiments in Algeria and Syria. All Senegalese representative institutions were suppressed. Priority was given to Europeans in rationed goods and in many other spheres. Liberty of association was withdrawn from both races, and whilst European members of the resistance were rarely hanged, Africans themselves rarely escaped the supreme penalty. By contrast in France the future President of Senegal, Léopold Sédar Senghor, was fighting in the French resistance and was later interned in a German concentration camp.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
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Council in Senegal but differed little in competence. The only concession made to Senegal and not to the other territories, and this undoubtedly being influenced by its political history, was the retention of a single college electorate as against the dual colleges prescribed for all other territories. The French penal code was made generally applicable for Senegal. In January 1946 the three *communes de pleine exercice* (Gorée had by then been incorporated in Dakar) were given full municipal status as equivalent French towns. Finally and most important, forced labour was legally abolished; but it survived in covert forms for several years to come. In Senegal, Senghor received the full credit for this measure from his peasant electorate and has been drawing political dividends from it ever since.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

V. AFRICAN REACTION AGAINST ASSIMILATION

I admit that as Negro students in the years 1930–4 we were only an obstruction. I admit that we were racialist; we were intoxicated by the banner of Negritude. At that time no intercourse was possible with Europeans. But since then, because this racialism betrayed our African-Negro humanism, because it led to deadlock by imposing cold war between races and continents, between man and man, we decided upon reflection to make an extra effort. Today we have accomplished this—the results of European decolonisation have contributed to it—we have left behind us the period of denial to embark with you upon the period of construction.

LÉOPOLD SÉDAR SENGHOR

THE 1946 constitution as far as Senegal and the other more advanced territories of French Africa were concerned really fell between two stools. In so far as it was assimilationist, it was not sufficiently so. If France were ever to establish her Franco-African republic it had to be on the basis of the equality implicit in assimilation. And this equality was denied at many turns. In so far as it permitted decentralisation in the form of territorial and federal assemblies, it was to encourage the growth of nationalist and regional politics. In Senegal, where the changes made were of relatively little importance, the failure to put into practice a fully assimilationist policy was to be one of the predominant influences behind the reaction against assimilation that was the distinguishing feature of the next decade of Senegalese politics.

Overseas leaders had been particularly disillusioned with French honesty in the application of the Overseas Labour Code. This code was drawn up at the Brazzaville Conference and promised amongst other things equal pay for equal work,

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
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a forty hour week, a minimum wage, the development of trade unions and the institution of a labour inspectorate. However the second Constituent Assembly procrastinated in according these economic rights to its overseas citizens and was dissolved before it could bring them into force. It was only in 1952 that the overseas deputies were able to force this measure through.

One of the reasons for the break-up of the old *S.F.I.O.* in 1948, which may be taken as symbolic of the reaction against assimilation, was the attitude of the parent party in France to social legislation for the overseas territories. The *S.F.I.O.* had voted against equal pensions for African and metropolitan French veterans; it had voted against the introduction of the French social security system for the overseas departments, and it had abstained on a motion to abolish the dual college system. But more important was the desire of the newly enfranchised 'bush' peasants for greater participation in the direction of party policy. Hitherto the party, closely linked with the parent body in France, had been tightly ruled by Lamine Guèye from Dakar. At the 1947 Congress of the party a group of members led by Senghor demanded a greater voice in party councils. The people of the bush, so long denied the rights accorded to the privileged of the *Quatre Communes*, once enfranchised showed their resentment against both those who exercised these rights and those who granted them. In the following year Senghor, backed not only by the intellectuals but by the vast majority of the bush, founded the *Bloc Democratique Sénégalais* (*B.D.S.*) declaring that 'Assimilation is an illusion in a world whose people have become aware of their own personality'. He attacked the *S.F.I.O.* for its close ties with France and its failure to take an independent line on African matters. So just as Lamine Guèye has been described as the representative of the era of assimilation, so Senghor can be dubbed the representative of reaction to this policy.

This reaction was at first not part of a concerted

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
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433 668 [491] the Government is trying to do is take out of its hands the control of the basic economy, such as the ground-nut crop, and to ensure that the maximum benefit accrues to Senegal from overseas investment.

The distinguishing feature of the plan is its reliance not on *investissement humain* on Chinese lines, a method which tends to be favoured by the Guinea and Mali Governments, but on *animation rural*. It is believed that compulsory forced [466] labour is not satisfactory to the people who are undertaking it, even if it is ostensibly in their own interests, first because it is compulsory, and secondly because it can suffer from excessive planning by the centre, so that the people may be 'investing' their labour in things which in the first place they do not want, and which in the second place fail, as certain agricultural schemes have done in Russia and China, as a result of overcentralised planning.

433 668 654 Basically *animation* is what we would call 'community development', but it is to be operated in the context of the general plan for the Senegal, touching on education and medical services as well as economic development. The idea is that people in villages should be asked what they want: a new road; a new dispensary etc. It will then be explained to them that such things have not been achieved up till now through lack of funds but that the Government is prepared to put its services at the disposal of the villagers to build a road or some such if the villagers are prepared to provide labour. The object then is to find out what villag- [496] ers really want and to stimulate them into wanting them enough to supply labour for them. In any chosen area, then, a member of the Ministry of Planning and Development (Animation Section) will go into the village and enlist the people's co-operation in selecting an intelligent man who is sufficiently respected both by the traditionalists and by the youth to be able to put over these new ideas of community development. He is then sent on an 'animation course' where he is taught improved farming and other methods and is (it is hoped) inspired with the need for

467 668 focussing on some of their asserted policies, revealed that the union struggle was regarded as directed essentially against the government. This must be interpreted not only with regard to the general traits of the colonial system but also in relation to the commanding role that the government played in labor. It was first of all the principal employer: in a city [369] such as Dakar, a little more than a third of the wage-earners were dependent upon it. It was responsible for setting the [465] minimum wage, and it has happened that owing to budgetary considerations and general policy it established a lower figure than non-governmental employers might have adopted. Finally, during the period in question, a central problem was that [466] of enforcing the Code of Overseas Labor, enacted by Parliament in 1952. The civil administration was responsible for its enforcement, and the strikes of 1953 were [468] designed to bring pressure on the administration so as to obtain a "fair enforcement" of its provisions. In the interviews mentioned above, conflicts with employers were scarcely mentioned as such. Employers were identified with the civil administration; the terms "civil administration" and "colonialism" seemed almost interchangeable. The adversary of the unions being essentially the civil administration — and a "colonial civil administration" — their action inevitably assumed political significance, broadly defined.[49]

467 668 563 (2) In the field of union activities the hostility between the European component and the African component of the urban population showed itself most vividly. This stemmed not merely from the fact that the civil administration and the employers represented the power of the "whites." It was also noteworthy that European workers, employees, and [468] officials almost invariably formed separate unions, with goals sharply opposed to

[P. 17B]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[49] This struggle against the civil administration was not confined to local matters. It was affected by events at Paris, both administrative and parliamentary. The use of political precedents seems very clear here. They sometimes brought success, as was the case in the enforcement of the provisions of the Labor Code regarding the hours of work.

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369 563 [182] [565] [466] industrial enterprises and in the public function. Even in a professional category a certain hierarchy of a traditional order survives and is always respected. In the workshops of the Dakar-Niger, for example, the higher supervisory staffs are made up of workers belonging to superior castes: free men, descendants of chiefs' families... Operatives coming from families of griots or former captives, in spite of their skill at the work and their training, would have only very weak authority over their subordinates.

[578] The animosities between individuals belonging to formerly hostile groups or to opposed religious sects may sometimes reappear in the course of contacts between individuals or groups of individuals. Along the same line [466] of thought, a certain favoritism may creep into the relations between foreman and subordinates belonging to the same ethnic category or the same religion.

369 563 573 Within each ethnic minority scattered through the city spontaneous associations spring up, led by the oldest among them. These friendly groups meet periodically. They are at the bottom of the mutual aid to the newcomer, to the workman who lives temporarily without funds in the escale. Each of these gatherings is at the same time the occasion for "folkloristic" celebrations, reminding the members of the group of their customs and their country of origin.

369 177 563 The traditions which have been able to survive by being adapted to the new conditions of the society lose their importance to a certain extent in contact with new ideas and Western influence. We have already remarked that the notion of ethnic group is rapidly obliterated when the individual is transplanted for a long time in a city very far from his natal village. The family ties, and above all the [593] authority of the head of the family over each of its members, become extremely loose in the city. We see a breaking up of the subordination that subjected each of the members of a family to the paternal authority. The child is no longer compelled to adopt the trade of his father; he may choose the work that he thinks will suit him. The young girl is [584] rapidly becoming emancipated, and rare are the Thiès

/9 cont./

795 have a moral obligation to deliver the products of their labor to the marabouts. With a remarkable ardor for clearing, these 244 Murids have improved new lands and have thus made a "ground- 311 nut front" progressing toward the east, especially on both sides 795 of the Dakar-Niger railroad. This cultivation, however, presents grave dangers, because the Murids essentially concern themselves with groundnuts at the expense of millet; they use the cleared lands in the average proportion of 60% of the area for groundnuts and only 40% for millet. Crop rotation and fallowing are all too rarely respected, and the lands put under cultivation are all the more unstable since the groundnut front now abuts on the zone of the lateritic cuirasses of the east, ushering in the Sudan.

244 427 [464] [167] [113] The navétanes (4) are the seasonal workers who come

4. Fouquet, J., La traite des arachides dans le pays de Kaolack et ses conséquences économiques, sociales et juridiques /The trade of groundnuts in the region of Kaolack and its economic, social, and legal consequences/. Law thesis, Montpellier, 1951, 262 pp.

from the Sudan in particular and, up to 1958, from the north of Guinea. They cultivate the groundnut for the benefit of [466] the employer, or diatigui, according to the clauses of a verbal contract. The employer furnishes the cleared ground, the [465] seed, lodgings, and food. The navétane prepares the land, sows, weeds, and gathers the harvest. Actually, he devotes scarcely three to four half-days per week in work for the benefit of the diatigui. He utilizes the rest of his time for clearing and cultivating for himself. This labor is very costly for the employer, who is often obliged to borrow at prohibitive rates in order to feed the navétane. Moreover, this system presents grave dangers, because the temporary immigrant, clearing and cultivating land for which he feels no attachment,

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

Courts of Law

692 The Court of Assize sits at Dakar, and the Tribunals of First Instance sit at Dakar, Kaolack, and St. Louis. There is a Magistrate's Court at Ziguinchor, and there are Moslem Courts at Dakar, Rufisque, and St. Louis. In each province and full commune there are the usual native courts, and the Colonial Court of Appeal for Senegal sits at St. Louis. There is a separate one for the District of Dakar.

In addition to the local courts, the West African Court of Appeal and the Supreme Native Court of Appeal are both held at Dakar.

Native Organization

631 All the old chiefdoms and kingdoms have now disappeared. On
177 the other hand, owing to their representation on the Colonial Council, chiefs in Senegal to-day exercise greater influence than in other colonies. They are appointed and paid by the Government, and they can usually be relied on to supply an official majority. In 1925 they induced the Government to raise their salaries, which now range from 7,600 francs to 36,500 francs per annum. The chiefs are divided into no less than twelve grades. Most of them have
[871] been educated at the École des Fils des Chefs et des Interprètes at St. Louis.

Land Tenure

423 By 31 December 1937 provisional concessions had been granted over an area of 12 square miles and concessions over 15 square miles. By the same date there had been granted under the immatriculation system 9,630 certificates of title, covering 177 square miles. Under the process of Confirmation of Native Land Rights, 40 certificates had been granted, covering 3½ square miles. These figures are very small for the size and population of the colony.

Labour

● 466 The Colonial Council is responsible for the fact that forced
[646] labour has been redeemable by every person since 1921. This reform did not become universal in the Federation till several years later. In 1930 a resolution of the same council compelled owners of motor vehicles to lend them for work under the same system.

In 1935 there were 408,000 persons on the forced labour rolls, 1,415,000 man-days were worked, and 561,300 francs were paid in

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

redemption money. During 1936 official figures showed 1,000 labourers working under written contracts for private concerns, while 31,800 were working on verbal agreements. For public services there were only 20 working with written contracts and 8,900 without. These figures apply only to regular employment, and they take no account of casual labour of any kind.

The fertile provinces of Baol and Sine-Saloum annually attract thousands of immigrant labourers from French Sudan to grow ground-nuts. It is estimated that, in some years, as many as 60,000 Sudanese labourers (*navétanes*) cross the border, encouraged by cheap fares on the railways and advances of pay from the Chambers of Commerce. In 1932 these advances amounted to 300,000 francs. On their arrival they do not work for daily hire, but each labourer takes up a plot for the season. The landowner provides the seeds, and also board and lodging for the labourer. In return the labourer works on the owner's plot for two, three, or four days a week. At the close of the season the proprietor takes either one-tenth of the crop or double the quantity of seeds that he supplied, leaving the rest of the crop to the labourer. Most labourers return to their homes at the end of the harvest, but occasionally they stay on till they have accumulated the sum they set out to acquire.

Agriculture

The first director of agriculture of Senegal may be said to have been Richard, one of the survivors of the *Méduse*. Under him experimental gardens were founded at Richard Toll about 1820. These are still in existence. The present organization of the Department of Agriculture is laid down by an order of 22 January 1932. Working in close contact with local administrative officers, it manages experimental gardens and farm schools, gives information and instruction to farmers, conducts campaigns against agricultural pests, and organizes agricultural shows. The Department has a laboratory at Hann and an experimental station at Bambey. This was opened in 1924 and is devoted principally to the study and improvement of ground-nuts. Besides these institutions the Department owns various smaller stations for study, experiment, and instruction.

Forestry. The Department of Agriculture had charge of forestry until an order of 10 February 1937 created a separate Forestry Department and divided the colony into four forestry districts (*inspections*), with headquarters at St. Louis, Thiès, Ziguinchor, and Tambacounda respectively.

/105 cont./

465 357 Domestic work is rare and costly. A cook is paid between 200 and 500 francs a month, a houseboy from 100 to 200 francs. These rates are similar to the ones prevailing in Dakar.

463 465 The native, moreover, is attracted to the cities only by the high wages. Competition does not come into play, as in Europe. There are only rare specialists or artisans. As [241] for the laborer, most often he prefers to work his field in the countryside or to hire himself out as an agricultural worker for a native employer who will feed him and leave to him a part of the harvest.

In an agricultural region such as Sine-Saloum, the native is primarily a cultivator.

244 166 167 Navétanes. Each year at the time of groundnut cultivation, Sine-Saloum gets many native cultivators coming from the east and south (Sudan, Portuguese Guinea, Casamance, Upper Gambia, and even Guineans from Fouta-Djallon).

These immigrants are called "navétanes," from the word "navet," which means "rainy season," because these foreigners arrive shortly before the first storms and leave as soon as they have sold their harvest.

About 10,000 to 15,000 of them come each year. A 244 local custom called "Lâdyino" governs the relations between the 466 foreigner and his employer.

[465] This is a verbal agreement according to which the employer assures his co-covenanter food and lodgings for the period of the work and in addition loans him a particular field.

/106/ The navétane works for his employer every morning, except Monday and Thursday. The rest of the time is left to him for his personal crops. The navétane gets seeds from his landlord.

His work consists of the preparation of the field (lougan), sowing, and weeding.

After the harvest has been gathered, the landlord stops feeding him.

[465] At the time of his departure, the navétane must reimburse his employer for the cost of his food, which is fixed by

/106 cont./

244 contract, depending on the region, between 100 and 120
466 francs.
[465] The European agricultural concessions should draw inspiration from this custom. In order to retain a labor force, it would be proper to assure the native food and lodgings and leave a small field at his disposal, while at the same time allowing him a day or two a week to work for himself.

This formula is applied in Latmingué by the Société des plantations, which exerts all its efforts on the cultivation of manioc.

433 Economic facilities. The economic facilities of the circle include ports, railroads, highways, inland waterways, and a telegraph, telephone, and postal network.

504 Ports. These are river ports where the tide permits ocean-going steamers, not exceeding a certain tonnage, however, to conduct their operations along the wharves or landings built along the steep banks.

The Saloum has two ports of this type: Kaolack and Foundiougne.

The Sine has one port, Niamnioro.

The Miniminian, an affluent of the Gambia, has one port, Saboya.

On the Saloum, between Foundiougne and Kaolack, two more embarkation points are visited: Kamatane, included in the concession of MM. Civrac frères (left bank), and Lyndiane, included in the concession of the Société des Anciens Etablissements Charles Peyrissac et Cie. (right bank).

On all of the other channels or marigots /107/ embarkation and debarkation points -- with wharves -- accessible only to cutters with a tonnage between 25 to 50 tons have been installed. These cutters make the transit and carry their cargo to the big ports of Kaolack, Foundiougne, and Niamnioroh.

Over the past several years, Kaolack has become an important embarkation and debarkation point. It is also the
[496] natural port of the French Sudan because it has the advantage of being linked to this colony by a branch which connects it